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RADIO PROPAGANDA REPORT

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INCREASING STRAIN IN ALBANIAN RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW
AND THE EUROPEAN SATELLITES

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INCREASING STRAIN IN ALBANIAN RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW
AND THE EUROPEAN SATELLITES

Signs of deteriorating relations between Albania and other members of the European communist bloc have been accumulating since the February congress of the Albanian Workers Party, at which Albania's defiance of Soviet tutelage was heavily underscored.

In April the Prague-based communist radio "Oggi in Italia" publicized an article by Togliatti in RINASCITA, the Italian Communist Party journal, containing the second direct criticism of Albania by a highly placed communist spokesman (the first having been Ulbricht's unprecedented attack after the November Moscow conference).

During the past two months Albanian-Polish relations have been marked by a number of developments reflecting increasingly open unfriendliness. And Albanian-Soviet relations, while remaining outwardly correct, have been aggravated by Soviet moves to improve relations with Albania's bitter enemy Yugoslavia, as well as by favorable Soviet propaganda treatment of a conference on Balkan cooperation from which the Albanians were excluded.

These developments have taken place against a backdrop of propaganda and diplomatic activities testifying to an increasingly close relationship between Tirana and Peking.

Albanian Ties With Communist China Strengthened

Albania's relations with the CPR have become progressively more cordial since the Fourth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, which ended on 20 February.* The CPR and Albania have continued to give laudatory press coverage to each other's affairs. Tirana, in addition, has gone

* For an analysis of that congress and related propaganda, see Radio Propaganda Report CD.185 of 3 March 1961, "The Fourth Albanian Party Congress: Formal Deference to Moscow, Vigorous Support for Peking." Pre-congress propaganda indications of growing Albanian-CPR affinity were traced in Radio Propaganda Report CD.187 of 8 February 1961, "Albania Maintains Pro-Chinese Stand as Party Congress Approaches."

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out of its way on a number of occasions to demonstrate its sympathy for the CPR and its independence of the Soviet Union. For example, Albania declined to send a representative to the independence day celebrations in Senegal on 4 April, presumably because the CPR stayed away in protest against the presence of a Chinese Nationalist representative. A large Soviet delegation, headed by Yakov Malik and Ivan Senin, and delegations from the other satellites attended.

The CPR- Albanian Aid and Trade Agreement: The principal event affecting Sino-Albania relations since the Tirana party congress was the aid and trade agreement between the two countries concluded in April. That the agreement was intended by the Chinese to bolster Albania's ability to withstand Soviet pressure for conformity--and was accepted by the Albanians for the same purpose--seemed evident both from the nature of the agreement and from the propaganda surrounding it.

The communique issued at the close of the economic discussions (which were described as proceeding with "unprecedented sincerity") stated that the CPR had agreed to advance a credit of 112.5 million new rubles (500 old rubles) to finance the support of Chinese technicians, the building of 25 industrial establishments, and supplies of farm equipment and foodstuffs--areas in which Soviet assistance has been of paramount importance in the past. Each stage of the negotiations leading up to the final agreement was marked by ostentatious displays of mutual friendship.

On 14 March an Albanian economic delegation arrived in Peking with Pupo Shyti, first vice president of the State Planning Commission, as its deputy leader. (Neither Peking nor Tirana at that point announced the name of the chief of the delegation, who was yet to arrive.) At a banquet given in honor of the delegation, the Chinese speakers praised Enver Hoxha and declared that Albania supported "the three banners of the general line" of the CCP and "the peaceful foreign policy of the CPR."

The arrival of the head of the Albanian economic delegation, Abdyl Kellezi, a month later (after the Chinese had concluded their economic negotiations with the USSR) provided another occasion for declarations of mutual support. CPR Vice premier Li Hsien-nien stated:

Any provocation against Albania or any other socialist country is a provocation against the whole socialist camp and a provocation against the Chinese people.

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The conclusion of the economic protocols ushered in a new demonstrations of Sino-Albanian cordiality. Radio Tirana stated on 25 April:

The Chinese people, their party and their government are also making a valuable contribution to maintaining the purity of Marxism-Leninism against the wild attacks of the new renegades--the modern revisionists, headed by those of Belgrade.

The broadcast lavished praise on Mao Tse-tung and the "three banners of the [CCP's] general line" and called for the development of closer relations. An NCNA report on the same occasion quoted Li Hsien-nien, the chief Chinese negotiator, as having expressed sincere thanks for

the brotherly concern and support consistently rendered by the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, the government of the Peoples' Republic of Albania, and the Albanian people to the Chinese people in their struggle.

The Warsaw Pact Meeting: The close political relationship between the two countries was also demonstrated following the Warsaw Pact meeting in Moscow, which ended 30 March. The conspicuously low-level Albanian delegation left Moscow immediately upon the conclusion of the meeting. This delegation was led by Behar Shtylla and included Abdyl Kellezi (later to go to Peking), who in addition to his other functions is chairman of the Chinese-Albanian Friendship Society.

Reports from Yugoslav media have claimed that one of the questions taken up in Moscow was the contumacy of Tirana and the disciplinary measures to be taken. The announcement by Tirana on 3 April that Shehu had received CPR Ambassador Lo Shih-kao on the same day, in the presence of Shtylla, for a discussion of unspecified subjects could be taken as a demonstration to Moscow that the Albanians and Chinese were keeping in close touch on this matter.

The Albanian Trade Union Congress: The strong pro-Peking note discernible at the Albanian party congress was again evident at the Fifth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions which opened 24 April. Keynote speakers Marko and Nushi referred repeatedly to the Soviet Union and China in the same breath, perpetuating the impression conveyed at the party congress that Albania accords the CCP a status commensurate with that of the CPSU in the bloc. The major speeches at the trade union congress, as broadcast by Tirana, dealt only briefly with trade union matters; instead they roundly attacked "revisionism" and "imperialism," lavishly praised the unity of the Albanian party and Enver Hoxha, and lauded the "Marxist-Leninist" stand of the Albanian party and government. Contrary to the Soviet foreign policy line, the Albanians

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denied the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism and insisted--in language even Peking might find bellicose--on the violent revolution. Party Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member Rita Marko asserted:

Is it conceivable that imperialism, seeing the balance of forces, would voluntarily renounce [its interests] in favor of socialism? Only the modern revisionists, the faithful lackeys of imperialism, try to convince the working people of the peaceful integration of capitalism into socialism, in order to make them suffer for socialism and, in the end, never attain it.

No comrades. Peace, freedom, and socialism cannot be obtained by waiting with tied hands. Peace, freedom, and socialism are not given as a present. They are won. They are won by war [lutte], struggle, and organized revolutionary activities of the masses and are protected by war.

A stronger identification of the gains of socialism with violence could scarcely be made.

Moves Toward Isolation of Tirana in Communist Europe

The Albanian Workers Party has not only been publicly criticized by a bloc spokesman (Ulbricht on 18 December) but by one of the West's leading communist figures, the Italian party's Palmiro Togliatti. In an article entitled "A Distorted Policy" (NOVA MAKEDONIJA, 7 April), the Yugoslavs summed up Togliatti's criticism as follows:

Following Walter Ulbricht's statement about dogmatism and sectarianism of the Albanian leaders at the conference of communist and workers parties in Moscow, there has now come an article by Palmiro Togliatti stating that in Albania "questions of life and discussion within the party are treated in a way that seems wrong and dangerous to us."

Togliatti's article, published in the Italian CP journal RINASCITA (April 1961), was broadcast in excerpted form by the Czechoslovak-based radio "Oggi in Italia" on 1 April 1961. In the original article in RINASCITA Togliatti had stated:

Thus when we learned, for example, from our comrade who attended the recent congress of the Albanian party that at that congress the questions of internal party life and

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debate were posed in a way that seemed to us wrong and dangerous, we made our judgment heard; but direct responsibility for and correction of such errors does not lie with us.

Albania's relations with Poland have also taken a turn for the worse since PZPR Central Committee member Roman Nowak's vigorous support of the Soviet position and criticism of the Albanians at the Albanian party congress:

§ The Polish ambassador left Tirana on 1 April and has neither returned nor been replaced.

§ Albania was the only bloc country in addition to the DRV to send no party-government greetings message to Polish President Cyrankiewicz on his 50th birthday (22 April).

§ The Polish delegation to the Albanian Trade Union Congress was the only one not mentioned by Tirana as having spoken or having delivered a greeting from the party.

The pro-Yugoslav sentiments of the Gomulka regime and much of the PZPR leadership have been recently documented at the Seventh PZPR Plenum, at which Gomulka (in his 21 January speech) listed Yugoslavia among the "socialist countries."

Soviet state relations with Yugoslavia have recently improved, and in the past such improvement has generally caused a proportionate frustration in Tirana; the Albanian party could only feel annoyance at being expected to demonstrate reduced hostility toward its mortal enemy. The USSR started negotiations for a long-term trade agreement with Yugoslavia on 25 February, five days after the Albanian party congress ended. These talks, concluded to the satisfaction of the Yugoslavs on 30 March, resulted in plans to double the volume of 1960 trade in the next five years. (By contrast, the USSR has signed a one-year trade and payments accord with Albania which provides for a seven-percent increase in trade turnover as compared with last year.)

The tone of Soviet propaganda has become considerably more conciliatory toward Yugoslavia than in the recent past. After President Tito criticized the actions of the Soviet Union and the communist movement in the first installment of his partisan memoirs, published in the Yugoslav KOMMUNIST on 23 March, a Moscow broadcast in Serbo-Croat (6 April) turned the other cheek and praised the Yugoslav Politburo both for its declaration of 22 June 1941 on initiating partisan activity and for its wartime cooperation with the Soviet Union. A follow-up Moscow broadcast to the same audience on 26 April, entitled "In

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the Interest of Peace and Socialism," stated that relations between the USSR and Yugoslavia "can be described as good" and could be still better:

It may be stressed with satisfaction that the attitudes of the USSR and Yugoslavia coincide on the main international questions.... It is life itself that calls for further successful development of cooperation between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on questions related to the struggle for peace and the relaxation of international tension.

They [the Soviet people] hope that friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Yugoslavia peoples will develop and grow stronger in the interests of the struggle for peace and socialism.

On the same day Moscow announced to its home audience that "the government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the government of the USSR have agreed that Foreign Ministers Koca Popovic and Andrei Gromyko will exchange visits," Popovic to visit the USSR on 6 May.

Belgrade announced that Rumanian First Deputy Premier Gheorghe Apostol had received Yugoslav Ambassador Milatovic in Bucharest on 27 April and that Hungarian Foreign Minister Sik had received Yugoslav Ambassador Tepavac in Budapest the next day. On 28 April the Yugoslav Ambassador to Moscow, Lazar Mojsov, called on Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Pushkin. From the viewpoint of Tirana, these steps must appear as ominous signs of a changing relationship between the European communist bloc and Albania's inveterate "monarcho-fascist" and "revisionist" neighbors.

Direct Albanian-Soviet relations have not changed appreciably since the February Albanian party congress. The failure of Hoxha and Shehu to attend the Warsaw Pact meeting demonstrated the continuing tenseness of those relations. However, Moscow propaganda has been at pains to emphasize the Soviet Union's past services to Albania, thus seemingly hinting that a more accommodating attitude by Albania could bring new benefits. The 22d anniversary of Albania's occupation by Italy (7 April 1939) was employed by Moscow as an occasion to review the debt which Albania owes the Soviet Union for its liberation and to emphasize the current foreign policy line. The Albanians were also pointedly reminded of the advantages of membership in the Warsaw Pact:

In the fraternal family of the socialist camp, the Albanian working people found secure protection for their peaceful

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and creative work. The Albanian People's Republic is a member with equal rights of the Warsaw Treaty, the secure and resolute fortress of socialism.

While the final economic negotiations between the Chinese and Albanians were in progress, Radio Moscow hailed the fourth anniversary (18 April) of the signing of the 1957 Soviet-Albanian Declaration in Moscow. Moscow recalled with nostalgia to its Albanian audience the "spring days full of sunshine" when the Albanian leaders were "received with joy and enthusiasm" wherever they went, and went on to detail the "gifts" which the Albanian people had received as a result of those talks. According to Soviet calculations, these gifts amounted to 453 million (old) rubles' worth of economic goods. It should be noted that the volume of loans extended by the Chinese as a result of the recent protocols amounts to 500 million (old) rubles. Moscow may have cited the statistics on Soviet "gifts" to underscore the value of cooperation with the USSR at a time when the Albanians were engaged in economic negotiations with the Chinese.

The Athens Conference on Balkan Cooperation

From 15 to 18 April the Greek "Committee for Balkan Understanding" and delegations from similar committees in Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia met to discuss means for better understanding among Balkan nations. The meeting dealt with such communist policy initiatives in the Balkans as denuclearization, eliminating U.S. bases, establishing a "zone of peace," and normalizing relations. Moscow's final assessment was that the meeting was well received by the Greek people and had cleared the way for further discussions. Belgrade (TANYUG, 18 April) registered the same opinion.

Albania was not represented, since a technical state of war still exists between Albania and Greece, and its delegation was denied visas. The same thing had happened in December 1960, according to a Tirana broadcast of 17 December: The Albanians were refused visas to attend a Balkan conference in Athens, which ruled out their participation. With this precedent on record, it would appear that the selection of Athens as the site for the April Balkan meeting was made with the full knowledge that Albanian attendance would be out of the question, and that the invitation to Albania was therefore an empty gesture.

Moscow, however, appraised the results of the conference positively in broadcasts to a scattering of audiences (though not to Albania), and never once mentioned the fact that Albania was not represented at what one Soviet commentator called "the first postwar all-Balkan conference."

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